

# The Republican.

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## TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF ALBION.

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CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, July 12, Year 4,  
of the Spanish Constitution.

I ADDRESS you this week to tell you, that though I have much to say to you, I have very little space to say it in. In my article on the affairs of Spain, dated June the 1st, I told you, that, the three Spanish Generals, O'Donnel, Morillo, and Ballasteros, more immediately in contact with the Bourbon Army, were not to be depended upon in the present war. I hope I may be deceived as to Ballasteros; but the other two have fulfilled my expectations, and have deserted from the popular cause. After the treachery and shuffling which O'Donnel had in former times exhibited; after seeing Morillo fighting with fury and desperation against Bolivar in South America; How could it be expected that they would fight for liberty at home? There has been dreadful treachery everywhere among the Spanish aristocrats: they are no more to be depended upon than the priests, or Ferdinand himself, in Spain, nor elsewhere. Their interest is not the interest of the people as a whole; therefore they never ought to be employed where the struggle is in reality a popular struggle against Kings, and Priests. I wish to see Ballasteros tried as quickly as possible, that we may know what we are to expect from him; for, after he has been fairly tried, there is nothing more to fear: we shall then see the real authors of the Revolution in prominent commands. These defections of the Generals will do no ultimate evil; they will merely prolong for a few weeks the lives of the invaders. The Spaniards, the good Spaniards, have sustained, as yet, not one real loss or disadvantage; and, in September, the struggle will begin to take its right course. All you who are inclined to give personal aid, do not despair of going; but prepare yourselves with good shoes, and good linen, and every thing that you can see will be useful

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and convenient to carry with you. If you are ultimately prevented in going, this preparation will become no loss; but an advantage.

After telling you that Mina is the hero of the day—that he is performing wonders in Catalonia—of which I will give you some particulars on an early day; I must introduce to you some pieces from my new, my very intelligent, very industrious, and very interesting correspondent “James Hall:” whose face, I am sure you will know, without my putting his portrait on paper in a more conspicuous manner. I hail him with a welcome, to which I know you will respond—WELCOME!

RICHARD CARLILE.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

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SIR,

THERE are twenty of us, all of the very lowest, but the most industrious, class of bees in this metropolis; we assemble, every Saturday night, at a certain house, to read “The Republican,” and “Mr. Cobbett’s Register.” In the Register of the 7th of this month, June, there is an extract from the Bishop of Winchester’s charge to the clergy of his diocese. In Mr. Cobbett’s remarks, there is one which says, that this charge is not grammatically written. In consequence of his saying this, we, the undersigned James Hall and James Glover, were desired to look it carefully over, and to correct it if we were able; this we have done, and we now present it to the public for their decision. We beg leave to call on the Bishop, to state distinctly what he means by his charge, which calls on us to pay *respect to superior authority*. We want to know what he *means by superior authority*. If he mean, BISHOP, or LORD, or DUKE, or PRINCE, or any OTHER TITLE, or MONEY, or PROPERTY OF ANY DESCRIPTION, we shall not pay any respect to any one, nor to all these, unless accompanied with TALENT; and that exerted in a good honest cause, then we will pay respect to all.

*We have here copied the Bishop’s Charge.*

*A Copy corrected by James Hall, Shoemaker, and James Glover, Journeyman Tailor.*

The awful character of the times in which we live may *justly* be considered as originating from that extraordinary revolution, which took place in a neighbour-

The awful character of the times in which we live, may be justly considered as originating from that extraordinary revolution, which took place in a neigh-



ing kingdom at the close of the last century, when principles were for the first time publicly propagated, which threatened destruction to every civil and ecclesiastical establishment throughout the world.

Though, through the wise exertions of our Government, under the favour of divine Providence, those principles made less progress in these dominions than in most other countries of Europe, yet we were far from entirely escaping the general infection; and though we are no longer under the evils and horrors of war, OR apprehensive of any formidable disturbance of public tranquillity, the return of peace has not brought with it the full enjoyment of our former comforts and blessings.

The storm has indeed ceased, and left the main pillars of our constitution standing erect and uninjured; but its long continued violence has in some degree impaired the foundation, upon which alone Government can safely rest—has shaken and weakened that system of subordination, without which human society cannot exist.

Some of the seeds of irreligion and anarchy, which were so profusely and industriously scattered, fell upon the ground, where they have taken root, and are now bringing forth their natural and bitter fruits.

Every engine having been set at work, which could mislead the wayward will of man, pervert his understanding, or inflame his passions, and all the restraints of power and authority, so necessary to hold in check the turbulent propensities of the human mind,

bouring kingdom, at the close of the last century: when principles which threatened destruction to every civil and ecclesiastical establishment, were, for the first time, publicly propagated throughout the world.

Though, those principles made less progress in these dominions than in most other countries of Europe, through the wise exertions of our Government, favoured by Divine Providence, yet we were far from entirely escaping the general infection; and, though, we are no longer suffering under the evils and horrors of war, nor apprehensive of any formidable disturbance of public tranquillity, the return of peace has not brought with it the full enjoyments of our former comforts and blessings.

The storm has, indeed, ceased, and left the main pillars of our constitution standing erect and uninjured; but it has, in some degree, shaken the foundation by its long continued violence; and has also impaired the peoples' subordination, upon which alone Government can safely rest, and without which human society cannot exist.

Some of the irreligious and anarchical seeds which were so profusely and industriously scattered, fell upon ground, where they have taken root, and are now bringing forth their natural and bitter fruits.

Every engine that could mislead the unruly mind of man, was set at work; to pervert his understanding, or to inflame his passions, and all the restraints of power, so necessary to hold the turbulent propensities of the human mind in check, having been

having been loosened, an immediate restoration of things to their original state could scarcely be expected.

A spirit is still manifest among us, producing an impatience of controul, a reluctance to acknowledge superiority, and an eagerness to call in question the propriety and expediency of established forms and customs.

These effects must be obvious to those, who recollect the state of sobriety in this island before the promulgation of the disorganizing principles of the modern philosophy; and this unfavourable change in our national habits and sentiments, this tendency to discontent, and disorder, this relaxation of the bonds of civil and religious obligation, may be most effectually counteracted by the judicious exertions of the parochial clergy.

We have not time to dissect all this charge; it would take us a day to do it as it ought to be done. We will expose only some of the errors in the first sentence.

In the *second line*, there should be a comma, *after* the neuter verb *live*; same line, the adverb, *justly*, should be *after* the verb *be*: there should be a comma *after kingdom* in the fourth line; and, a colon *after century* in the fifth line. The relative pronoun, *which*, in the sixth line, was intended, by the Bishop, to stand for principles; but, it does not stand for principles, it stands for *time*; and the meaning now is, that *time will destroy every civil and ecclesiastical establishment*. Radicals, Deists, Materialists, you, not one of you, I dare say, was ever in the inside of a school at Oxford or Cambridge! But, you see, the Bishop does not find fault with you, nor your principles; he, wise man, finds fault with *time being publicly propagated*! This is something new. And we will leave off by acquainting all of you, of the lower orders, that the Bishop's second sentence is *worse* than his first; and the third is worse than the second; and so on\*.

We are too poor to give you any thing towards your heavy fines;

\* We shall keep a sharp eye on all Bishops and parsons; and, more particularly so, if they are, or have been, your persecutors. In any observations that we may have to make, we shall not use such phrases, as "producing an impatience of controul." All phrases like this, are the exclusive property of Oxford and

loosened, an immediate restoration of things to their original state, could scarcely be expected.

A spirit is still manifest amongst us, producing a violent temper, which it is necessary to controul; a reluctance to acknowledge any superior authority; and an eagerness to call in question our established forms and customs.

These effects must be obvious, to those who recollect the state of sobriety, in this island, before the promulgation of the disorganizing principles of the modern philosophers; and this unfavourable change, in our national habits and sentiments, this tendency to discontent, disaffection, and disorder, this relaxation of the bonds of civil and religious obligation, may be most effectually counteracted by the judicious exertions of the parochial clergy.



but, we think, that if you were to publish this through the streets of London, at twopence a copy, the profit would be something towards helping you out of Gaol.

In concluding, we beg leave to inform the public, that what little we know of grammar, we have learned in Mr. Cobbett's grammar which we strongly recommend to all labourers.

We are, Sir, your obedient humble servants,

JAMES HALL.

JAMES GLOVER.

*Note by R. Carlile.*—The first paragraph is correct, as written by the Bishop, and incorrect, as altered. The principles alluded to were not propagated throughout the world: though, in the Bishop's sense of civil and ecclesiastical establishments, those principles certainly tended to destroy them throughout the world; that is, wherever they existed on the earth. The Bishop is here only wrong in his estimate of the value of such civil and ecclesiastical establishments as exist in this country and as existed in France before the revolution. He takes a narrow view: he fancies those establishments are of the same value to every other person as they are to him. This is not the case: the benefits which he receives from the existing establishments are of so much injury to the labouring man, or to the man whose labour is useful to the community.

The foregoing observations are made with reference to the sense of the matter and not to the punctuation. Punctuation is to a certain degree a matter of taste and stile, which may be clearly seen in the Bishop's first paragraph; for, though, its punctuation may be altered, as the Grammarian with two names has shewn above; yet, I contend, that the first paragraph has but one clear and distinct sense and is correctly pointed.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

London, July 7, 1823.

I READ Mr. Paine's "Age of Reason," for the first time, in the year 1819. I was so much taken up with the subject, it affected my mind in such a forcible manner, every word was like a dart piercing

Cambridge. We, poor mortals, should say, "producing a violent temper, which it is necessary to controul;" but, then, this is vulgar common language, easily understood.

into my heart, the matters treated of took such hold of my mind, that I read it over three times in the course of the first week; and, I have read it through several times since. This perusing caused me to reflect on the whole of the subjects in the Bible; it caused me to examine every part most minutely; and, after mature deliberation, I am now perfectly satisfied, that the whole book is a *perfect monstrous diabolical imposition*. That it was, in the first instance, written with an intention to deceive the poor credulous people; to keep them in slavery, and to brutalize them; to prevent them from studying for their own benefit; or for the benefit of their fellow creatures; or from gaining any kind of sound knowledge; to make them believe, *solely*, in what the parsons tell them; in order that the king, the noblemen, and the priests, may live on the fruits of the earth, produced by the sweat of their (the people's) brow!

I will here refer to the 9th verse of the 38th chapter of Genesis. Now, my friends, you, who think for yourselves; what do you think of this sentence? I am ashamed to put it on paper! Here is a *beastly* sentence! Here is Divine Revelation talking in such a *baudry* manner, as must make every male as well as every female *blush*! Will any father, when he sees this sentence, this *notable* verse, put this book into the hands of his female child? or into the hands of any child? O! Ignorance! O! Credulity! O! Stupidity! I will say no more, but leave every person to judge for himself.

Our Boroughmongers and Religionists, are constantly recommending this book to the people, under a pretence of taking care of their morals, but in reality, to *cheat*, and *plunder* them of their *property*, under the cloak of *piety*.

If Judge Bailey has read the Bible through, or if he has only read the parts referred to in your penny list of references, and still says, that he believes, that it is the word of God, then, it must be obvious to every reflecting mind, that he is *not fit* for a Judge.

The people of England are, generally speaking, too good natured, too unsuspecting of their task-masters; and Doctor Watts appears to have been of the same opinion; for, in his *Logic*, at page 205, he says, "As for *principles* of religion we frequently find how they are taken up and forsaken, changed and resumed by the *influence* of princes. In all nations the priests have much *power* also in *dictating* the religion of the people, but the princes *dictate* to them: and where there is a great pomp and grandeur attending the priesthood in any religion whatsoever, with so much the more reverence and stronger faith do the people believe whatever they teach them; yet it is too often evident, that *riches*, and *dominions*, and *high titles*, in church or state, have *no manner of pretence to truth and certainty, wisdom and goodness*."

Every priest gets his livelihood by deception; he has not honesty enough in him to write in this manner, if sober and in his senses; but, notwithstanding that, the man who wrote the above, was a great Doctor of Divinity; he well knew the weakness of man; and, I think, that he must have been disappointed in some promotion, or he wrote it



intending to injure, or to give somebody uneasiness, and this caused him to become an honest man for a few minutes, at any rate, or he never would have put this paragraph upon paper.

And, now Sir, in concluding, I give you joy on your complete triumph, though in prison, over all kings, noblemen, and priests. Had you worked night and day, for fifty years, in the cause of truth and justice, you never could have gained a more complete triumph, than the King of Portugal has given you. He has done you more honour, and the people and the cause of liberty more good, than any king in the world ever did or ever will do.

The next revolution that takes place, in any country, where a king reigns, if it be a hundred or more years hence, away he will be sent to work for his bread; most likely at a tread-mill, or perhaps, I ought to say, that he will be made to tread upon something that may drop from under his feet, and leave him aloft; with all the Noblemen on his right and all the Bishops on his left.

I am only a poor labourer, but, notwithstanding that, I have felt a great deal for you, your Wife, Sister, Mrs. Wright, and indeed all the persons suffering for this noble, just, and virtuous cause.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JAMES HALL.

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#### TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GOAL.

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SIR,

London, July 7, 1823.

You must have been astonished, at the stupidity of our Borough-mongers, when they framed and passed the six Acts which abolished all our Liberties. One or two of those Acts were passed to prevent us from meeting; to prevent us from communicating knowledge to each other; to keep us in a state of *bondage*; to make us *cringe* and *fawn* to those ignorant beings calling themselves our superiors. But, after all their craftiness, they will fail in their intention; and it will recoil with tenfold vengeance on their own heads, when the day of reckoning comes.

The Boroughmongers' *Tools*, the Magistrates, are now working hard to *suppress* all the *Fairs* round the Metropolis; under a false hypocritical pretence, that they are injurious to the Peoples' Morals! The guardians of our Ancestors' Morals never attempted to interfere with their little amusements. Here our enemies show their ignorance and fear, both at the same time; because we are all sensible that it is done with an intention to prevent us from assembling together! They think that we should march in a body to demand our rights. They are afraid of their own shadow! They think, that they can see the *Soldiers*, at these fairs, drinking with the people, who are endeavouring to seduce them: here they let us see their tremulous minds!

Lord Shaftsbury, in his Miscellaneous Reflections, says, that the Noblemen of England are frightened of an honest man!—What a life it is, to be afraid of an upright man! You, Sir, have frightened them more, by your straight-forward honesty, than any man ever did before.

They will not allow us to assemble at any time, or in any place, unless we have a great Monk at the head of the party; and, then, we must not, in Ireland, stop out after sunset, if we do they will transport us.

We have had three great meetings this last week. The first assembled at (our great Monk's) the Archbishop of Canterbury's Palace; and marched in grand procession to a field near the Waterloo Road; there the Monk, who has fifty thousand a year to stultify us, laid the first stone of a New Church, which is to be called Saint John's.

There were not less than ten thousand Women; but not more than five hundred men. Women have always been fond of Black and Red coats; but the Black coats have showed us, that they are fonder of the Red coats than they are of the Ladies! The credulity of the Ladies is almost beyond belief!

The second meeting was at Poplar, with the great Monk, London-Bishop at its head, to consecrate a Church or something of that sort.

Not less than one million and a half of money has been expended in building new Churches; and a half a million more has been expended, in buildings for the King, at Pimlico, and for the Courts of *Injustice* in Westminster. One million has been taken by the Government from the unclaimed dividends. Two millions have been advanced by the Bank to the East India Company. Now, here is a thundering Loan made to the Government, totally unperceived by the people.

There have been *more* new Churches and Chapels built, in and round London, during the last three years, than there are in the City of Paris all put together.

The third meeting consisted of 500 Noblemen and Noblewomen, and was at Richmond, with the Duke of York at its head. He is the Bishop of Osnaburgh, or some such name, by this you see, that he is a great Monk. He is also Commander in Chief of the English Forces; very pretty employment, indeed, for a Bishop! But, then, this command brings him in sixteen guineas a day, and the keep of sixty horses. This meeting cost between four and five thousand pounds, and was called by that great Boroughmonger the Marquis of Hertford; who and whose Father have received *one million one hundred thousand pounds* of the people's money during the last forty years. The Morning Post newspaper, boasted, soon after the late Marquis died, of the great *Riches* that he had left behind. It said that he had *laid out seven hundred thousands pounds in Land*; and that the present Dowager-Marchioness had four hundred thousand pounds in ready money. The present Marquis was own cousin to Castlereagh, "the mental delusion" man, who cut his throat. This Castlereagh and his *Relations*, and his wife's *Relations*,



have received six millions five hundred thousand pounds of the people's money during the last fifty years. The present Marquis of Hertford went to Paris, not long since, and there laid-out one hundred thousand pounds in House-Ornaments and curiosities of one description and another. This money is all *gone* to France, to *enrich* that nation; not *one* penny of it will ever *return*; and *every* penny of it came *out of our labour*!

And, now, Sir, your enemies have exultingly kept you in Gaol; have seized and destroyed all your property; have abused, and called you all sorts of names, in that house which is guarded stronger than any prison in this Kingdom; but, after all, they stand *aghast*, *trembling* at the work of their own hands, frightened almost to death; while we stand with *tears* in our eyes, *mourning* for those who are *pining* in Gaols, for the *cause of truth and justice*! But, we live in hopes to see the day of justice arrive; then we will sing, glory be to thee, Carlile, who hast suffered more for the people of England than any man ever did, or I hope ever will do.

I am, Sir, your obedient, humble Servant,

JAMES HALL.

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*Note by R. Carlile.*—I differ with my intelligent correspondent as to the utility of the fairs in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. I was never present at one of them, and never more than twice passed through that disgrace of London the Bartholomew Fair in Smithfield: but I have seen and heard quite enough to assure me that they are wisely put down; and I should be glad to see them put down all over the country. They are the relics of monkery, instituted and encouraged by the priests to counteract the feelings which their oppressions would otherwise occasion, and are the same as those sports and pastimes allowed to be practised on Sundays by the priests, in the times of the two first Stuarts, to remove the gloom which the church-going left upon the minds of the people; but not for any kind of popular benefit or rational improvement.

I have seen country fairs and races; but I never saw any thing of the kind that could be deemed a rational and useful meeting to those assembled; nor any thing of the kind that ever constituted decent and useful amusement. Drunkenness, debauchery of all kinds, fights, rapes and robberies, are the common characteristics of English fairs; and if any of these things be useful to the people, then it is unwise to put down such fairs.

More than any thing else, I am astonished at the contrariety in the conduct of our kingly and priestly Government in suppressing those amusements, those vents for popular passions. We see the Bourbons encouraging all kinds of fêtes among the French People, and we can as plainly see the motives for such conduct. It is to evaporate the discontent that would otherwise exist among them.

For my part, I have a perfect contempt, or rather an indifference of mind, as to what was done or what was not done by our ancestors. I believe, that, in this country, though we have still a hateful legislature, an immoral legislature, the general amount of intelligence has gone on increasing both our liberties and our happiness; and this I say, with a general view of the country, after having suffered four years imprisonment for no kind of offence, for no kind of immoral conduct. It is this growth of knowledge, and not fairs, routes, wakes, and revels that will go on to increase our liberties and our happiness; and so far as we make ourselves a moral people, so far shall we taste true liberty and true happiness, in spite of all despotic power: and so far alone shall we be accumulating the necessary power to counteract to destroy all the power over us that is despotic and immoral.

All plotting, all conspiracy, all intrigue, I hate and disclaim. I will resort to no such means to work any change in the condition of the people, nor do I wish to see any change brought about by an ignorant and discontented army. So sure as effect follows cause: so sure will bad means produce bad ends.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

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SIR,

London, July 9, 1823.

I AM decidedly of your opinion, about the Government of the people. There never was nor there never will be a good Government, formed of King, Lords, and Commons. It is contrary to all moral and rational principles, to expect any goodness from such a corrupted mass of beings. This mass has brought England into such a frightful state, in which man never saw any country before. The King has either the power to alter this state or he has not; if the former, what shall we think of him? and, if the latter, what use is he?

To Petition the House of Commons, in its present form, is inconsistent, mischievous, and causes more deception to the people than any man is aware of. When a man petitions for a reform, he thinks



that the House can grant his prayer; but this, were it ever so willing, it cannot do; because, the Members are not, themselves free; and, if ever any reform take place, in the House, it will be by physical force and no other. And my opinion is, that the members ought not to be blamed, for any thing that they may do, or have done. This is my notion of the House; and, if I am in error, I hope that you, or some of your readers, will set me right.

They may say, What? shall nobody be answerable to us? Shall we blame nobody for bringing the nation into its present, miserable, and degraded state? I answer, yes; the LORDS or PEERS are answerable; they are to blame, and they only. Why? because they own all the Boroughs which send members to the House; and, here, the villainous mischief begins!

Every Gentleman who is elected for a Borough, pays, perhaps, five thousand pounds for his seat to the Lord of the Borough. Now, is it not a reasonable thing, to suppose that the elected Gentleman will endeavour to get his money back, and as much more with it as he can. To suppose the reverse is, indeed, contrary to all reason; and, that, every person has not a just right to make a good bargain for himself and his family.

As soon as any Gentlemen is elected, he will, without doubt, say, Why should I throw five thousand or even five hundred pounds away from my family? No: I am determined to get it back. How shall I do that? Why, by voting with the Ministers, to be sure, they have all the Loaves and Fishes to give away! Very well, then, he will say, I will vote with them. Then your readers may say, What? the Ministers, in the House of Commons, are free, then, are they? They can grant the prayer of our petition? No: they cannot! for they are, themselves placed, in their present situations, by the Lords?

This House of Lords, is one of the most complete, villainous things in existence! It can and does set every wicked wheel in motion, in every part of the world; but it keeps all its works out of sight, and really appears to do nothing, but what is very *good, generous, humane, and exceedingly religious!* It (this House, through its instrument the late Castlereagh) caused the French Army to assemble on the borders of Spain three years ago, that was in 1820. It caused the French to enter Spain to make the Spaniards form a House of Peers to enslave their country. And, it will keep both nations in their present state, till the French have spent, perhaps, one hundred millions of money, then, it (this House) will step in, under a cloak of mercy, and pretend to be a friend to both nations; and that Spain shall honour its Noblemen, by forming a House of Peers, for the grand stand that they have made against the French.

It (this House) has not less, at this moment, than fifty quivers, and in each quiver a dozen arrows for its bow; but, they are all out of the people's sight!

One of these arrows is darting into the sides of the French people; by causing the Spanish invasion to be a very expensive undertaking:

that will cause taxes to be laid on the French, to prevent us from comparing our state with theirs. In short, and in fact, *It* (this House of Peers) is putting down the French and the Spaniards too.

If, *It*, (this House) force a House of Peers on the Spaniards, they (the Spaniards) will, in less than fifty years, be just in the same state as we now are; because every Peer will have his retaining fee; that fee will, in the first instance, depend upon the Peer's abilities; but in about thirty years, it will depend upon the strength or number of votes that each Peer can give the Government.

Our Peers are now receiving between three and four millions of money, in Pensions, Sinecures, for services and so on, every year. This sum does not drop from the clouds. It comes from somewhere. It comes, indeed, out of the People's labour! Now, suppose the Peers, and their families to spend two millions every year; they will, then, have nearly two more left. With this sum they purchase something; Houses, Land, shares of Canals, Coal-Mines, or something that gave a vote to the owner before it was purchased by the Peer!

If I am correct here, and I think I am, is it not as clear as daylight, that, in the course of a few years, the Peers will have every inch of land, in the nation, in their own possession? We shall keep losing our property; and the Peers will gain it, till they have gotten all! Thus are the people constantly paying their money in taxes to the Peers, for them to purchase the property, and of course the liberties of the people!

I always laugh out-right, when I hear any body talking about property giving any political weight to the owner. If this is to be the case, we are very well represented now; for the Peers have more property than all the rest of the nation put together. And what is still of more importance, as we keep losing our property we shall be better represented; and when all our property is taken from us, and when we have no votes at all, we shall, have arrived at the very highest pitch of perfection in representation.

When any Gentleman is made a Peer, the first thing, that the House of Lords does, is, to order the House of Commons, to vote two or three thousand pounds a year, to the new made Peer; then, they, (the Peers), place him in some situation that gives him six or more thousands a year, till he has gotten a large Park and eight or ten thousand Acres of Land; which Land before it was purchased by the Peer, had, perhaps, thirty thousand owners and each had a vote for a County Member.

Here we see the true cause of all our misery. This is the state into which our House of Peers, is endeavouring to bring all the Powers in Europe. This is the cause of all our labourers, working, with hay-bands round their legs, and old sacks round their shoulders, for six-pence a day. Let any man in London go into the Hay-market, or any other market, to see the country-men come in, on a Market day, with smock-frocks, dirty and all in tatters, hay-bands tied round their hats, faces like skeletons with long beards on, knees



knocking together through weakness for the want of a little strong beer, which our forefathers had in such abundance; but, which beer is now petrified into great Parks for our Task-Masters.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

JAMES HALL.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Birmingham, June 10, year 1823 of  
the Christians' Ghost begotten,  
Virgin born Idol.

SIR,

I ENCLOSE you £1. 4s. 0d. being the amount of a subscription from a few Friends to Civil and Religious Liberty, resident in this town and neighbourhood. I much wish the public spirit of the place would enable me to remit a larger sum; but I am sorry to say the inhabitants, generally speaking, are of so superstitious a cast, that I am persuaded they fancy your liberation would be productive of great evil to the community. I trust however that the day is not far distant when people will see with their eyes open, and no longer suffer themselves to be the dupes of knavish priests and other such vagabonds who live on the plunder, they have the cunning to obtain from their votaries. I sincerely hope that a short time will restore you to the benefits of free locomotion, though I have my doubts whether such will be the case at present: and with every good wish for your welfare and the happiness of your family, and a desire that you may rise proudly triumphant over your desperate and despicable foes, I subscribe myself,

Your friend, and obedient Servant,

No. 25, Lower Temple Street.

W. BUTLER.

TO MR. WILLIAM BUTLER, BIRMINGHAM.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, June 20, 1823.

So long as I can keep even a footing in Birmingham, I have no fear but I shall be able to improve my acquaintance with you. I had lost all footing for about two years; and during that period, I know that endeavours were made to keep me out. I am fully sensible that I labour under the influence of the enmity of all the sects; from the sect of Radicals to the sect of Royalists; from the sect of Freethinking Christians to the sect of Roman Catholics. The principles which

I advocate strike at the roots of every sect, and aim to erase every distinction but that of country, and community, and man.

Since the Year 1816, Birmingham has made a conspicuous figure in the sect of Radicals. You have had private meetings and public meetings; you have put forth prayers, supplications and remonstrances; you have had dinners, and suppers, and something to drink; you have formed societies, committees, sub-committees, and I rather think to the best of my recollection, that you have sent forth delegates for various purposes. Now, look round and see what good you think you have done by all this species of labour? What prejudice have you conquered? What corrupt practice have you destroyed? What particle of tyranny have you undermined? What support have you given to morality? What bad habits have you reformed within yourselves? Do you find the multitude of labourers more intelligent within these last seven years? Do you find them shaking off their attachments to the alehouse, and preferring wholesome food, and a clean and wholesome appearance, in person, in manner, and in dwelling, to the soporific and stupor producing qualities of beer, spirits, tobacco, and snuff, which become a prostitution of the palate, stomach and nostrils more foul than any other kind of prostitution that I can conceive? If you do not find a reformation going on in this way, you have done nothing; and a reform that would put more money in the way of such persons would only generate evil by augmenting the amount of their beastly prostitutions. The reformation required in this country is two-fold; the habits of a majority of the people need reforming, as much as ever the legislation and magistracy under which they live. Perhaps these evils find a mutual support in each other; but certain I am, that which ever way the reformation begins, the destruction of the one evil will forward the destruction of the other: therefore, we are more immediately interested, and more in duty bound, to reform that evil first, over which we have a more immediate controul. A man is not half so much injured by being taxed to the half of his produce by a government, as he is in taxing himself to the same extent by his bad habits. If he retains sufficient wholesome food in the first instance, he will retain his health; which, in the latter instance, he inevitably leads to premature destruction.

My object is to shew you here, that if you do not find a visible reformation in the habits of the people of Birming-



ham, the major part of whom have avowed themselves Radical Reformers for these six or seven years past, there must be something deficient or rotten in the principles under which they profess to act. I do not impeach all, not every one, but the bulk; but I do say, that every man is not only in duty bound to exhibit a good example, but to press it upon all others who do not, where he can exercise an influence. I begin to feel an influence over a considerable number of individuals in this country, and I have, therefore, determined to begin to exercise that influence to their advantage, in the endeavour to increase the amount of their morality, and in no other shape. Of money in the shape of subscription, I declare, that I do not desire another shilling from the man who has already given me one. I should like *one* from every man, as a pledge of his goodwill, and his sincerity in advocating the same principles, and as a matter of distinction in marking our progress: and I am thus bold in begging, from the conviction that I have made a good application of every shilling that I have received since I have been in this Gaol. Under this impression, I have resolved to probe the wounds and prejudices of the mind rather than flatter its vanity; and to the best of my ability, I will assist in bringing about a universal acknowledgement, and *an action upon it, that every man ought to be moral and that a moral man is all that a man ought to be.* This I am certain is the only right ground upon which to begin a reformation; and upon this ground, better than upon any other, we shall always stand ready and with an increased power, to take advantage of every opportunity to undermine legislative and magisterial tyranny, or to reform our political government in part or in whole. Upon this moral ground, no enemy can reproach us with bad habits and bad views; no good man will fear or keep apart from us, and the bad man alone will shun our company to save his vices from exposure. I shall fearlessly strike at every vice that I see in the community, and begin with those who are more immediately my friends and supporters. Under any kind of Government, an immoral people are a hateful people; and the great existing evil is, that priests, and tyrants, and ignorant men encourage vice of every kind, by falsely teaching in what morality consists.

Morality is a thing independent of custom: it is not made up of precedent: it is independent of law, for laws may be made to violate it, and even an obedience to law may be its violation: it knows no sectarianism, nor can it

by any possibility be allied to any thing called religion or idolatry: What is it then? may be asked: it is that principle in human action which generates the greatest amount of individual, with the greatest amount of general pleasure; and in calculating the amount of individual and general pain, studiously avoids its increase and pursues its decrease. In whatever shape that line of conduct and disposition is found, that and that only is morality.

As to the fear, of your town's-people, of what I shall do when I obtain my liberation, it is quite amusing to me. You may venture to tell them, that I shall do great things; and that, as I have commenced a paper war upon all the Gods, nothing but my iron cage prevents me from pulling down the sky, catching all the larks, and kicking about the winged insects, angels, cherubims, and seraphims, which they tell us live above it!

I shall do what I have done incessantly for the last six years; the best I can under my notions of right for the time being. As far as it may be my power, I will endeavour, first to better my own condition with that of my family, and with that, the condition of every poor and industrious family in the country. That will be a first principle with me. In endeavouring to accomplish this, I may be found at Birmingham, searching out and pointing out some of the vices which retard the moral improvement and restrain the moral power of its inhabitants. I may probably act the part of a moral spy with them, enter their conventicles or their private and public shops for gospel and gin, tobacco and beer, or everywhere in which they meet to prostitute their minds or their bodies, and expose all their mad tricks and the bad effects which arise from them. If I do any thing to affright them, you may rely on it, that it will be in this shape. Every other kind of fear I wish to remove from their minds, as I have from my own. I will cure all their haunted houses and churchyards of the ghosts which stalk about. I will spoil the trade of all the witches, the astrologers, and the fortune-tellers of every description; particularly, the trade of their priests: in short, I will exhibit to them the benefit of a strong moral mind untainted with religion. And to sum up the whole, I will drive all the devils out of Birmingham, not to send them into the swine, but into their more fitting resting places—the Wednesbury Iron Furnaces!

When the Birmingham people begin to be sensible that I really possess all these powers, I hope they will not be afraid to let me come among them. I promise them most



faithfully, that I will do them no personal, no mental, no moral harm.

The principles which I advocate, of perfect representation in legislation, and perfect delegation in magistracy, are the only sound political principles: I dare any man to make a public exception to their good foundation. Monarchy to a nation, I consider to be the same, as a spoiled child in a family, who rules all, distracts all, and is never pleased with any thing; but becomes the more monstrous with the extent of its power to do mischief. The anti-superstitious principles which I advocate, or those of no priestcraft, no ghost stories, no delusion, no kind of fortune-telling juggle, are the only sound moral principles that can be defined; and those who fear to oppose me and fear to support, are that short of being honest, be they who they may.

I return you thanks for this support, and beg you not to press any further subscription for me in Birmingham. Those who have already subscribed I thank; and those who wish to do it hereafter, or to announce their new conversion, can easily find the means through the agent who furnishes them with "The Republican."

In sentiment and friendship, yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR,

Ripponden, June 8, 1823.

WE beg your acceptance of the inclosed trifle, which is but like a drop in the ocean when compared with the shamefully wicked fines imposed by a canting Christian Judge! None but a Christian could have done it! Well may the Christians hold forth the doctrine of repentance, for they stand much in need of it. No Judge, who is not a Christian, could have inflicted such punishment.

Hoping soon to hear of your liberation. We are, yours, sincerely,  
the undersigned, for whom

I am respectfully yours,

D. NIELD.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
A Disliker of Persecution	1	0	ers, even to the first fixed		
Charles Cockcroft, one who			Star!	0	6
abhors Kingcraft and			S. Cockcroft, one who says		
Priestcraft	1	0	nothing	0	3
William Whiteley, one who			E. W.	1	0
would not like to be a la-			N. G.	1	0
bourer for the Babel Build-			T. W.	1	0
No. 2, Vol. VIII.					

T. W.	0	3	J. Berry, one who does not	
G. W.	0	6	believe in the dogmas of the	
T. G.	0	6	Priests	0 3
S. G.	0	6	J. Shaw, a Lover of Truth	
T. G.	0	6	and Reason	0 2
D. Nield	5	0	B. Shaw, a Philanthropist	0 3
S. S., no Christian	3	0	D. M., a Friend to Carlile's	
A few Friends to Mr. Carlile	1	9	Principles	0 6
J. C., Olim religio peperit			Thomas Jagger, one who bids	
scelerosa atque impia facta	1	0	adieu to the Black Locusts	0 6
LUCRETIVS.			M. J. one who loves fair play	0 3
J. C.	1	0	An Enemy to the Dealers of	
Ann Johnson	1	6	Damnation	0 3
John cries,			William Rainforth, not a	
Now be free, ye continental			Friend to sickness, but a	
nations:			Lover of Paine	1 0
Why have Monarchs! and			John Wood, a Friend to Li-	
bear chains with patience?			berty	0 6
Those useless creatures, such			John Gledhill, a Friend to	
as Kings and Queens!			Carlile	0 3
Must ever be the cause of			Isaac Taylor, a Friend to	
scathful scenes:	2	6	Truth	0 3
J. F., a Friend to Liberty	1	0	John Gawkrödger, a Free	
B. Taylor, a Friend to Free			Thinker	0 6
Discussion	0	3	One who dislikes the present	
			Administration	1 0

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TO MR. D. NIELD, RIPPONDEN.

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CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, June 22, 1823.

I RETURN you thanks for this subscription, and for one that I received at the close of last year, which I had not then the time and space to answer.

I can see that you are making progress in your town, and rejoice to find that a complete chain of similar sentiment is forming in and throughout Yorkshire.

I look upon persecution to be entirely destroyed in this country. The immoral wretches, who have lately exercised their powers to that end, will skulk out of the contest in the most graceful manner they can, by keeping up a shew of perseverance with a few cases; but all idea of checking the progress of my publications they have long given up.

I therefore exhort every man, woman and child, who has passed the slough of superstition, to enter the field of discussion with all the ardour that the cause warrants. I throw down the gauntlet of free and fair discussion to any man in the country, upon the principles of Republicanism and Ma-



terialism, or to shew that the principles of political and moral Government, which these words define, excel all others, and that they are of themselves sufficient.

Our prospects brighten as the last struggle between liberty and despotism proceeds, for it is a matter of impossibility that open despotism such as that which is now avowed in Europe, can succeed and conquer. It has no real physical power to rest upon, for the soldier who fights for pay will fight for whoever will pay, and change his employers accordingly as they can best pay: so that the despot has no power but in the money he possesses, and in the taxes which he can impose. There is now no such thing as attachment to Kings: no fighting for the glory of Kings: all fighting is for pay on the one side and for liberty on the other; and as soon as the advocates for liberty can hire and pay the more corrupt and ignorant part of mankind to fight on their side, there will be no longer a despotism to oppose.

This is the great time for mental energy and bodily exertion, a man should not be idle for a moment at such a crisis. All the materiel of war that can be sent into Spain will be like planting so many daggers in the carcase of despotism. "Britons srike home!"

Respectfully yours,  
R. CARLILE.

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#### EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ABERDEEN.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Aberdeen, May 28, 1823.

I CANNOT omit to mention a circumstance which has just occurred here, and which has attracted the public attention in a very marked manner to your writings. Professor Kidd, who has long been distinguished as a preacher, by a kind of fire-side eloquence, an appearance of blunt honesty, and extraordinary zeal, having had some of your publications handed to him, promised to appropriate a day to the discussion of the question in dispute between Deists and Christians.

About twenty years ago, when a candidate for his present situation, he rendered himself extremely popular by his opposition to the Deists. "You Deists" (he would say) "I have often called on you to come forward and answer me, but you perhaps think, I would take advantage of the situation in which I stand, to brow-beat you; perhaps you feel it a delicacy to stand up in the middle of this congre-

gation to answer the minister; therefore to remove every scruple, I now propose to meet you in any house, public or private, that you may appoint before a dozen of respectable witnesses: I shall treat you in the most Gentleman-like manner, and I pledge myself to refute every argument you can advance to the satisfaction of all present." The Deists, however, poor timid souls, durst not venture to encounter this Goliath, at that time; but some of your friends, thinking it might serve the cause of truth, and excite a spirit of enquiry in this corner, to get this Champion to renew his challenge, wrote to him lately, urging him by every motive as a man and Christian to come forward and answer Mr. Carlile, by arguments worthy of himself and the cause which he so nobly advocated: and as he has always effected a degree of magnanimity, and liberality of sentiment, they hinted to him the propriety of applying the collection towards the payment of those enormous fines, on account of which you and your sister still languish in prison beyond the term of your sentence, and without such aid, may remain for life, to the disgrace of Christianity, and its professors!

It appears, however, they entirely mistook their man, for this saint, who shows an extraordinary degree of sympathy and fellow feeling with malefactors on the scaffold, has "a heart as hard as the nether-mill-stone," as he lately told his own managers, from the pulpit, because they would not advance his salary.

He has, however, favoured us with the long promised arguments.

On Wednesday evening last, after advertising it in both Journals, he preached a sermon in defence of Christianity against the Deists, to a very crowded audience. He began with his usual appearance of candour, by saying that he did not approve of shutting men up in dungeons because they differed from us in opinion, and instead of throwing Mr. Carlile into prison, he would have an Act passed to compel the clergy to answer him, and those who would not, or could not do so, should be obliged to resign their situations to those who were able and willing to undertake that duty. Although he had taken a month or six weeks to prepare himself, and had, contrary to his usual practice, for he always preaches extempore, committed his sermon to paper, I can by no means say, that it was, although a very laboured discourse, well arranged, or that it displayed much judgment, or taste in the execution; and had it not been for occasional sallies of invective and abuse against "illiterate mechanics, silly fellows of weavers, beggarly lawyers," &c. &c. who support the opinions of Carlile, his audience could not have withstood its narcotic effects and might at least have enjoyed two hours sound repose to compensate for the loss of the literary treat which they had promised themselves.

Any thing like argument to be gathered from this heterogenous mass might be comprised in the following: "I challenge you Deists to say where but in the Bible can you discover any satisfactory account of the creation of the world, and of the "origin of man?" (he had seen the Aberdeen correspondence in "The Republican,")



How, without the Bible, can you prove the immortality of the soul and a future state of rewards and punishments? How can you account for the origin of sin, and the sad perversion of the human faculties?" Then he took occasion to refer to four unfortunate men who were laying here under sentence of death, but I can follow him no farther. Alas! Sir, I have just witnessed a scene of the most heart-rending nature, three of those unhappy men have just been launched into eternity! Young men, who, if they had been under a wise system of Government might have been useful members of society; one of them in particular, Buchanan, had a most prepossessing appearance: his manner and address were really engaging! He had received, what he called, a good education and seemed to deserve a better fate. These three suffered for theft and house-breaking; while the man convicted of murder, although, as the Judge declared on his trial, a murder of a more aggravated nature than that for which Mr. M'Kinnon suffered at Edinburgh, has received a respite.

Our Christian Champion attended on the scaffold, he wept, prayed, sung psalms, kissed them, and bid them adieu! So far he deserves praise; but after the poor men had, one after the other, addressed the crowd, their ghostly prompter came forward, and said:—"I am commissioned by these dying men to declare that they were Deists and neglected their Bible; he would therefore exhort the multitude present, not to keep company with Deists: he entreated them not to read any of Carlile's books, especially *what he calls his New Testament*; and he called on them all to stand forward in defence of Christianity, as affording the only source of consolation when we come to die, as might be seen by these unhappy men, who die full of the hope of immortality, and like the thief upon the cross, expect in a few minutes to be with Christ in paradise!" I stood immediately under the scaffold, and heard the whole of this address, and likewise what the culprits said: and, although each of them spoke two or three times, they never said a word about Deism; nor do I believe they had ever heard of the name of Carlile! they only lamented their disobedience to their parents, and having kept bad company; so much for Christian candour and honesty! Now amidst a multitude of reflections which a scene like this awakens in the mind, I could not help lamenting the short sighted views of legislators, and the little account they make of human life. Instead of aiming at the prevention of crimes by a wise system of laws, they suffer the minds of youth to be perverted by false religion, a degrading superstition is substituted for sound morality, and they never acquire any fixed principles. Such scenes, in my opinion, are a disgrace to a civilized country.

C. H.

## TO MR. R CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

London, July 1, 1823.

YOUR correspondent I. G., in your Republican, No. 24, Vol. 7, June 13, in his observations upon the letters which have passed between you and Mr. Fitton, upon the subject of design in the formation of matter, declares that to him "it appears that every part of creation, or the universe, bespeaks design in its construction." I will trouble your readers with a few of my ideas in answer to those put forth by I. G.

Until lately the disbelief of an almighty supernatural intelligent power was principally confined to the learned, to collegians, and priests, who by tacit consent kept up the deception of the existence of such a being, "to keep the dull rabble in awe." Since Mr. Paine's "Age of Reason" appeared; and since you have taken up the cause of free discussion and advocated the principles of Materialism, the people, I mean the useful people, begin to be less terrified in exercising their rational powers, in tracing natural causes by their effects, and in combating the delusive dogmas promulgated by priests and visionaries. The effect of this reasoning I expect will be to overthrow a spurious morality, and of establishing in the minds of mankind, a love of moral rectitude and equal justice.

"I shall, before I proceed farther, concede to I. G.; that IF any single part of matter, or of the universe, animate or inanimate, could not have existed without a designer; every part or all parts, of the stupendous whole required a designer also: but I must request that your readers, will have the goodness to give their attention to seemingly insignificant words: especially to some of the little monosyllables, which are used in the reasonings of controversialists; for they are sometimes most powerful and important auxiliaries; upon them frequently depend the whole force of an argument.

I have, in the last paragraph just used one of these mighty commanders in the character of IF, to decide all the properties and qualifications this little fellow carries about him, might often lead us into all the mazes of the most intricate subjects, that occasion the most knotty and violent disputes of mankind.

"Your *if* is the only peace-maker, much virtue in *if*."

I. G. has, in the commencement of his reasoning, made use of a dissyllable, which possesses the virtue of shewing that modesty which usually characterizes the most learned of mankind, in writing or speaking upon subjects beyond the compass of human mind to decide: he says, that to him it appears, that every part of the universe bespeaks design, this is very modest; though I am inclined to believe I. G. is deceiving himself, for some parts certainly evince little of intelligent design, in their composition, but I am willing to concede again to I. G. that many parts of organized matter do appear to bespeak design; in the construction of their component



parts; but that is all; they do not *prove* it: and it can be no more than conjecture or guess-work, that they had an almighty designer, at their primary formation: and though Materialists cannot probably prove to all minds, that no supernatural agent could be employed, in their production, they can go a step beyond their opponents; in scientifically reasoning from the operation of the elements, in shewing the possibility of nature producing by her own inherent properties, a living being.

Nature has been extremely playful (if I may use so light a word without giving offence to the fastidious philosopher) in her productions, and has almost illimitably diversified their component parts; but that this has proceeded from design, what man can say, or saying so, can carry conviction to the scientific and enquiring mind; for though I have admitted that some parts of organized matter appears to have proceeded from design, there are other parts, if it were so, that shews the artificer to have been a great bungler. I. G. departing from the caution with which he set out, and from the modesty which no doubt as a rational person he really possesses, upon the undecided questions of materiality and spirituality, and of natural and supernatural agencies, immediately, but seemingly unconsciously, falls into the accustomed *dictum positivum*, which intrudes itself upon the human mind from the force of early ideas, impressed upon it, we scarcely know how, and which we often find extremely difficult totally to erase.

I. G. instantly commences the support of his opinion by saying: "The hard and impenetrable shell of the tortoise, for instance, IS designed to shield the body of that animal from external accidents and injuries, to which, owing to the slowness of its motion, it IS continually exposed"—then mentions the structure of the hare as compensating for the want of either offensive or defensive organs, which structure he declares is designed for speed; by which means it escapes numerous dangers and accidents to which it otherwise would be continually liable, and declares also, that its eyes are so placed on each side of its head as to enable that animal to take in a whole circle; the design of which evidently IS that it may the more readily perceive its enemies.

I. G. again says, "the long and flexible trunk of the elephant is designed to accommodate that unwieldy animal."

I. G. will doubtless perceive, that if his declaration, that such and such a thing in nature is designed, was to be rebutted in the same arbitrary stile of argument, by a person of opposite opinion; by saying that it is *not* designed: the party would be in danger of being considered by philosophers and men of science a mere dogmatist, and would probably be abused as such by bigots.

That all that I. G. has stated of the qualities of the tortoise, the hare, and the elephant, is true in effect, no one will doubt; and that it all appears to the inventive, imitative, mechanist creature, man, or to most men, to be also the effect of design, may be allowed to be and is founded in truth; for to the aggregate of mankind (who think upon the subject) all that I. G. has stated really does *appear* to pro-

ceed from design, and for the following reasons; first, they have been trained to admit, that all they behold and know of natural productions are the work of an almighty maker; secondly, circumscribing their powers of reflection to the analogical effects of their own mental and physical powers of making a watch, of painting a picture, of carving a figure, of building a ship, and of completing other works of art; knowing that these required intelligence and design, they conclude from a parity of reasoning that the various productions of nature, have proceeded from the hands or creative design of some almighty, supernatural, intelligent, tortoise-making, hare-making, elephant-making, man-making artificer or mechanist; that after having kneaded together the various properties and portions of matter of which they are composed, this manufacturer breathed into them the breath of life, or *vis vitæ*, of existence and motion.

I have said that all that I. G. has stated of the animals he cites, *appearing* to be the effects of design is founded in truth, should any one imagine this assertion is paradoxical to the argument I use: they will recollect that it is on the word *appears* that I allow it to be so; we know that the simple and literal meaning of the word truth, is the reality of things; thus mankind knowing from the reality of advantages derived by the tortoise, the hare, the elephant, from the parts described by I. G. and also knowing the advantages derivable to themselves, from the construction and execution of a watch, a picture, a piece of sculpture, a ship, or any other work of art, and knowing that design was necessary to the production of such things it does *appear* to the circumscribed minds of such persons, that animated nature and the universe came into existence, from the design of some intelligent undescribable, undiscoverable, supernatural agent maker, manufacturer or mechanist; but it only *appears* so to them, from their reasoning analogically, upon the effects they are themselves capable of humbly but ingeniously imitating in the works of art which they produce, from the combinations of matter which they apply, to effect a purpose design and work of labour; they cannot divest themselves of the consciousness and reality of the property they themselves possess of *organized* intelligence and handicraft ingenuity, these being firmly established in their minds, being congenial to their nature, they suppose or take for granted, that every thing that exists must have had an intelligent creator or maker; whether it be an universe, a world, an animal, an insect, a mountain, a mound, or a particle of dust: but if they go about to prove the truth of their opinion, they are lost in a labyrinth of inexplicable difficulties and some of them in the greatest absurdities.

They do not take into account the elements, the actions, operations, combinations and modifications of the elements; the compositions, decompositions, and recompositions of matter; the adapting qualities of the elements, to give to their diversified and organized productions, properties suitable to the motion, or locomotion, acquired by their qualities, and necessary for their succour, support and existence, they strive not, or at least most of them strive not, to account, in a natural, and I may add a rational way, upon the laws



of nature; the operations of the elements; the combinations and actions and counteractions of fire, water, earth and air, the mutations and transmutations of matter, for the effects they behold; they will not reason onward, in reflecting upon what may be the possible effects, of the constant motions and intermingling of certain portions of matter, with other portions of matter, the products which may arise from the combinations of the sun's rays and air, light, caloric, oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen, humidity, frigidity, and rarefaction, of all these or a part of these properties upon solidity, or the bases of matter, upon the salts, oils, acids, saccharine and calcarious particles; of vegetables, animals, minerals, and their component parts; not acquainted with the astonishing effects produceable by the aid of chemical affinities and operations, or but superficially acquainted with the science of chemistry, they seem not to consider the incalculable number of changes which may be wrought, the immense number of products which may have birth, from the secretive, accretive, cohesive, inosculative, fermentative, evaporative, attractive, repulsive and gravitating qualities of the multitudinous modifications of solid, liquid and æriform portions of matter with each other; or if they take into account a part of, or all of these properties, for certain purposes, connected with the transactions of mankind; they are unwilling to allow, that through an infinite variety of chemical affinities and properties, and all the actions and counteractions of which elementary matter is capable, or can have been capable, through illimitable time and space, by its present, or some antecedent properties, and the particular remote and periodical conjunctions of the planetary system; any living thing could have been produced, and that when once produced, respiratory, generative, and sexual organs, could also have been spontaneously or progressively produced, to preserve each genera, species, and class, in as perfect and undeviating order, as is observed in the motions of the planetary system, time without end, or until some mighty periodical convulsion of nature, at some remote period of time, may happen in the course of her ordinary, but to man apparently extraordinary, operations; reduce all matter to chaotic heaps, to be reproduced, or recomposed, through millions of elementary, periodically, revolving motions, and by the infinitely ramified affinities of the great variety of elementary bases and compounds of elementary matter, into some new and extraordinary forms possessing as now an infinite variety of organized parts, animate and inanimate, inert and sensitive, instinctive and reasoning, until a tortoise, hare or elephant, or some creatures with their properties, and approaching in semblance to them in form, come forth, to engage, the discussions of some other creatures, in semblance of form and properties and reasoning powers; to the imitative mechanic creature man:

“ There is not one atom of yon earth  
But once was living man!  
Nor the minutest drop of rain,  
That hangeth in its thinnest cloud,  
But flowed in human veins,  
And from the burning plains

Where Lybian monsters yell,  
 From the most gloomy glens  
 Of Greenland's sunless clime,  
 To where the golden fields  
 Of fertile England spread  
 Their harvest to the day,  
 Thou can'st not find a spot,  
 Whereon no city stood \*."—SHELLEY.

*Hamlet.* "Why may not the imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bung hole?"

*Horatio.* "Twere to consider too curiously to consider so."

*Hamlet.* "No faith, not a jot; but to follow him thither with modesty enough, and likelihood to lead it."—SHAKESPEARE.

And why may not the imagination trace it by the aid of elementary combinations within the scope of scientific possibility, with "modesty enough, and likelihood to lead it" back again to an organized being, possessing all the rage for conquest, which calls a world to arms.

Though all this may, to unscientific and visionary minds, appear a mere jargon and rhapsody of words, an inconsistent and absurd admission of improbable possibilities; still the votaries of supernatural agencies and spiritual essences, go into the more extraordinary and extravagant admission, of the existence of some indiscernible, intangible, indescribable, inconceivable, self-existent, supernatural ENS or being, without parts, form or mould, a purely "*spiritual*," immaterial essence, uncomposed of those elementary particles of matter, which with wondrous harmony hold all nature together: a mere assumed "*spiritual soul*" to which visionaries, can annex no fixed scientific or rational idea; without earth, air, fire, or water, without solidity, frigidity, light, caloric, humidity or motion in its composition or properties, because all these comprehend matter, of which visionaries, believing in divine essences, will not allow their impossible-to-be-described idol to partake.

Ask them to give a definition of the *spiritual soul*, of its place of abode, from whence it emanates, or where it exercises its operative and creative functions, and they become confused and stultified, or go into descriptions which indeed consist of jargon and rhapsody; because they embrace, no known laws or properties of nature or science, nor can they be reduced, to the tests of observation, experience, perception, sensation, or common sense.

Their ideal being they fix in some ideal unknown spot of space, to which they give the name of elysium or heaven, and in doing so, they run into other inexplicable difficulties, of giving the power to nonentity of creating entity; of nothing, creating something out of

\* As a confirmation of the opinion of the immortal Shelley upon the eternal duration of the earth, and the mutations which it is constantly undergoing. I refer your readers to a work of a most important and extraordinary nature published by SAMPSON ARNOLD MACKAY, Norwich; entitled "THE MYTHOLOGICAL ASTRONOMY of the ANCIENTS DEMONSTRATED," by restoring to their FABLES and SYMBOLS, their original meaning. Berosus informed the Grecian (philosopher Calisthenes, who was in Babylon when Alexander the Great was there) that 403,000, years before his time the pole of the earth was within the plane of the ecliptic."—MACKAY.



nothing; they suppose a supernatural orb, or all glorious Temple, to which they can give no clue, in what part of space it exists; they are thus guilty of the absurdity, of fixing the focus and lever of creative power, upon no substance, to be directed by no substance, and to be preserved in perfect order by no substance; these are, the primary and fundamental errors they run into; but in describing the moral properties of their immaterial divinity, they multiply their follies a hundred fold in giving to it attributes of the most superlatively excellent qualities, and passions the most revolting to humanity; making it revengeful, passionate, furious, relentless, and cruel; deceitful, hypocritical, faithless, and unjust.

What inconsistency! What fatuity!! What knavery!!! Has the spurious philosophy of "*spiritual essences*" been productive of, as promulgated and propagated by the amiable visionaries Pythagoras, Plato, and their disciples, in contradiction of the philosophy of materialism, professed by the learned Phenecians\*, some thousand years ago, or long before their time—and supported by the learned and most learned, the rational and most rational, long afterwards, even to this day; but when taken hold of by greedy and designing men, and incorporated with the Judaical and Pagan priest-craft idolatries, and Christianized by miracles, parables, mysteries, dreams, visions, and revelations; and supported by craft, fraud, and power; we are constrained to call out, Oh! what monstrous evils have been entailed upon mankind; in consequence of the visionary speculations of heated and mistaken imaginations: speculations in themselves innocent, and indeed productive of entertainment; when we reflect upon the satire, sarcasm, or delusion, which abounds in the dreams and imagery contained in the "*Metamorphosis of Ovid*," "*Milton's Paradise Lost*," "*Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*," "*Shelley's Queen Mab*," "*The Devil upon Two Sticks*," &c. &c. but when we consider the long age of horrid crimes which have afflicted mankind in consequence of the religious phrenzy and fury with which they have assailed each other; it becomes too serious a subject for levity to sport with, otherwise were the materialists to attack the prejudices, follies and errors of mistaken and deluded visionaries; with all the force of satire; what a field have priests and fanatics opened, to enable any one of superior genius, talent, vigour and sarcasm, to frolic and jest, with the cant, delusion and jargon which has been propagated by all religionists, and none more so than the Christians, to mislead and defraud a credulous, puling, puerile, and idolatrous world.

But as the object of your publication appears to be to beat down superstition and persecution, by the force of argument, reason, and science, rather than by satire, and as I. G. seems to possess no feeling of enmity towards the advocates of Materialism; were I disposed to

\* The Phenicians were a maritime and commercial people, inhabiting a large Island (in the Atlantic Ocean) which according to Pluto was swallowed up (or the greatest part of it) about eleven thousand years ago, Mackey. These people were Materialists, one of their countrymen of the name of Toth, became King of Egypt and broached a new religion; making his God to arise from the chaos of matter upon which is founded the Mosaical creation.

ridicule his opinions or to satirize the visions of religionists ; it would be intruding upon your pages to introduce it in this letter, and uncalled for in my answer to I. G. who does not appear to be tainted with the rhapsodical spirit, which marks the language of most of the advocates of an almighty supernatural designing power ; having extended this letter to a greater length than I had intended at its commencement, I shall defer my answer to I. G's. observations upon the motions of the Planets, which he concludes *must* be the effect of a designing being ; in the meantime, probably, I. G. will have the goodness to state whether he supposes the design of the planetary motions, and animal life proceeds from *material* or *immaterial* properties, or from *natural* or *supernatural* effects ; as a prompt and frank declaration of his opinion in these respects, may save some time to your readers and some space in your Republican : although in either case, I consider that I. G's. notions of the existence of a designing creator of matter, and fabricator of animal life, are equally fallacious ; or that necessity required design or intellectual power to be employed, in putting in motion either an orb or an atom, or in giving life to a mammoth or a mite ; if I am in error I shall willingly relinquish all pre-conceived opinions upon the subject, provided I. G. or any one else, can advance other principles more conclusive and convincing than those I have been in the habit of reasoning upon—**TRUTH** being my polar star.

None out of Nature can pass into space,  
Nor no design, out of nature, can trace ;  
Nor in nature, can mankind, trace a thought,  
That's not by matter into being brought,  
Not by a supernatural ENS devised  
For mind, is but matter organized,  
Nature adapting effects to their cause,  
Upholds all products by unerring laws ;  
A stone as it falls, a bird as it flies,  
Ocean as it heaves, vapours as they rise,  
Earth in space as it whirls, man as he thinks,  
Are but matter chained in organized links \* ;  
By the elements succoured as they go,  
Like the grass, or trees, or plants as they grow,  
Or animals, that breathe ; all are sustain'd,  
Not by design or by being ordain'd ;  
But from matter ; in motion confined  
To each orb, as through their orbits they wind.

J. WATSON, Brewer Street.

\* "How wonderful ! That even,  
The passions, prejudices, interests,  
That sway the meanest being, the weak touch,  
That moves the finest nerve,  
And in one human brain  
Causes the faintest thought, becomes a link  
In the great chain of nature."—SHELLEY.



## TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

London, June 7, 1823.

I HAVE for some time past thought of sending to you my ideas, of what a revelation would be, if given by such a being as the theologians call God, possessing such attributes as they ascribe to him. For some time before I gave up the existence of an "Eternal Intelligent Divine Being;" I had given up the idea that the Bible was the word of God; or that it contained evidences of a revelation from him to mankind. What the theologians hold out to be the word of God, and the evidences of revealed religion, I consider to be inconsistent with those attributes which they ascribe to him, when they tell us, that he is eternal, infinite, and perfectly just, wise, and good; that he is omnipotent and omnipresent.

I conceive, that no person, who is of sound mind, exercising his reason and judgment, can believe, that such a Divine Being, if he saw it to be absolutely necessary to give to his rational creatures a revelation of his being and attributes, of his mind and will concerning them, would give it in such a way, that nine-tenths of the human race should not be able to know or understand it, without the aid of Priests, Councils, Synods, or Acts of Parliaments; for, it must be evident, that, if a revelation be absolutely necessary, it must be so to every individual whose rational faculties are sound and good; for a revelation to one, or a few only, cannot be a revelation to the whole: and that it is as absolutely necessary to be clear and unequivocal, as it is to be given; because without it is clear and unequivocal, it is impossible to demonstrate the existence of an "Eternal Intelligent Being," exterior to, or above Nature.

Doubtless, the human species are accountable beings; but, they are accountable to none but their fellow beings, or the society to which they individually belong. If the human species were created by an eternal, infinite, and perfectly good Being; then, as his creatures, they must be dependent upon him only, for their existence, as he must have created them merely of his own good will and pleasure, whose goodness must be equal to his power, without limits: and, as justice and wisdom are but modifications of goodness; so, in the counsel of his own will, according with his infinite power, his omniscience and goodness, he could not design, plan, nor exercise any means, but what would effectually produce present and perpetuate good, or happiness to all his rational creatures, capable of receiving it.

If justice has any meaning, is it not just, that I, as a reasonable being, although finite, should unite, and exert that knowledge, power, and goodness, with which I am endowed, with a design to benefit society at large, but more particularly that part within the sphere of my connection, consistent with my own happiness?

It must then be evident, that if there does exist such a divine Being as the theologians describe, who has made mankind accountable to him for their conduct, he must be, in justice bound, to make such a revelation of himself, and of his will to them, as respects a general rule of conduct. Such revelation must, of necessity, have been so

perfect and complete, clear and unequivocal, that it would be impossible to be misunderstood; by any individual who had the proper use of his rational faculties; independent of the aid of any learned sophists or capricious designing priests, of synods or counsels, of kings or parliaments! There cannot exist a doubt that such a Being must have been able to make such a revelation to his creatures with the greatest ease; and what he could have done with the greatest ease, that he would have done with the greatest pleasure. Such a revelation being the same to every individual capable of receiving it, would need no voluminous record to imprint it on the heart or mind. Such a revelation being simple, complete, and unequivocal, would be to them for a king, a priest, and dictator, in all their concerns of importance, and excludes the necessity of expensive rulers and teachers!

Now then, if such a revelation has not been given to every individual, it must justly be considered as a sufficient proof of the truth of one of the three following propositions. First, That mankind are not made accountable for their conduct unto a superior being. Secondly, That he must be an unjust and tyrannical Being. Thirdly, That there does not exist such an Eternal Intelligent Divine Being as the Theologians call God.

J. BUTLER LEVANT.

P. S. I am persuaded, that generally speaking, the learned, or men of letters, among the teachers of religion, are hypocritical, and have some sinister end. My reasons for such a persuasion, are as follow:—First, Because it appears to me, that learned men, who exercise their rational powers, must know that no religion can be supported without sophistry, fable, and falsehood. Secondly, Because men of letters, who study surrounding existences, must know, that *intelligence is an acquired property; that, there exists no innate ideas; that, all ideas are received through the medium of the organic structure of the senses, from external objects; and thus all intelligence is acquired; that, intelligence cannot exist unconnected with a material organization; that, therefore an intelligent being must be a material being; that, all intelligent beings must be local and changeable beings, subject to decomposition, or analyzation; that, consequently, no one intelligent being can be eternal, infinite, or independent; that, they are only so many parts of a whole, which is the only eternal, infinite, self-existent; independent of its forms or parts, which are evanescent, contingent, relative, and dependent on each other, and the whole.* Thirdly, They are hypocritical teachers, because while they profess to approve of liberty of conscience, free enquiry, and the right of private judgment, and to disapprove of persecution for difference of sentiment, they can suffer their fellow creatures, to be persecuted, and incarcerated in dungeons without protesting against it; and not only so, but many of them  
" connive and rejoice at it!

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#### ATHEISM NO CRIME.

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It is reported in the newspapers that Mr. Hume should make use of the following expression in his speech of July 1, in the House of



Commons, in submitting to the House his motion for free discussion. "He had said nothing of Atheism, nor did he think it necessary. He conceived it to be an opinion hostile to the principles of civil society. Indeed he never yet conversed with any man whom he considered to be an Atheist. He did not think it possible that a human being in possession of his senses could ever come to the persuasion that there was no such thing as a God or a first cause." With all due respect for Mr. Hume's ability, industry, and great utility as a member of the House of Commons, I decidedly differ with him upon this subject. Mr. Hume seems to think that Atheism would be inimical to civil society, but I think differently. I have known but few Atheists it is true; but those I have known have been generally good moral characters. But I do not think that belief, or disbelief, makes any difference in the moral character of a man. A man cannot controul his belief, nor disbelief; consequently neither the one nor the other can be said to be criminal or meritorious. For instance, it would be as impossible for me to believe all the fooleries of the Christian religion, as it would for a devout Christian to become instantaneously of my opinion. A man may easily affect to believe; but this is hypocrisy. He must have demonstration before he can rationally believe a thing.

Now if a man do not injure his neighbour by being an Atheist; and if from the impressions he have received he cannot be otherwise than an Atheist, I do not think that such a man ought to be considered culpable for holding opinions which he cannot controul.

I was taught in my childhood to believe that there were three Gods, and I continued in the belief up to manhood. But happening to fall in with an enlightened countryman of Mr. Hume's named John Murray, who convinced me by his superior reasoning, that the belief in one God was more rational than the belief in three, I accordingly embraced his opinion. I then began to think for myself, and endeavoured to find out the abode of this God; but, alas! my search was in vain! After wandering from globe to globe, and throughout the immensity of space, my hopes were all vanished on finding, that no place that came within my conception was better adapted for his abode than the globe we inhabit. I accordingly gave up the search as hopeless, and centered all my hopes in a FIRST CAUSE. Here for a time I rested; but an idea happened to cross my mind, that if this CAUSE were FIRST, there must have been a time when matter did not exist; and this appeared to me preposterous and impossible. I therefore gave up the idea of a FIRST CAUSE also. It being in my opinion held upon untenable ground. If any man ask me what is the cause of all the wonderful phenomena of nature? I tell him I do not know, and that is as much as a Newton could tell him if he spoke sincerely. But it is the duty of the man who believes in a thing to prove its existence, and not the one who disbelieves it. Mr. Hume says of Atheism, that "he conceived it to be an opinion hostile to the principles of civil society," and Lord Bacon says, that "Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation," &c. This does not appear like the character of a set of men out of their senses, and but ill accords with Mr.

Hume's statement that he never conversed with an Atheist, and that a man in the possession of his senses could not be an Atheist. Now I do assert, and the thing can be proved to a demonstration, that all men are by necessity Atheists; for, to be a Christian, a man must believe in three Gods; but if he cannot prove the existence of any one of these Gods, his Christianity falls to the ground, and he from necessity becomes an Atheist. The same rule applies to the Deist and every other believer in a something which he cannot prove to have an existence.

Mr. Hume has undoubtedly done more in behalf of free discussion than any other member in the House of Commons, and I have said thus much, more to correct an error that may get abroad, (that there is something bad in the principles of Atheism) than to censure the individual opinion of Mr. Hume. I have no doubt but the Papers have given his speech a little false colouring, as it is the practice of most journalists to truckle to the prejudices of the age.

JOHN JONES.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

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SIR,

Giltspur Street Compter, July 4, 1823.

ON the presenting of a petition, on Tuesday night last, praying for free discussion on all speculative opinions, Mr. Hume is reported to have expressed himself to the effect, that he could not conceive how any man could be a confirmed Atheist. This illustrates, I think, what you have stated in your last letter to Mr. Fitton of the necessity of having our words clearly defined. We accustom ourselves to the use of certain words to which we attach certain ideas, without considering that others do not attach the same ideas to the same words that we do. This is the occasion of much cavil and misconception.

There is a power, or a property, in every thing which I behold, of which I am entirely ignorant; I have no more knowledge of it than a blind man has of colours. Now, if I call this unknown power God, I am a Deist; but with the name of God I have constantly associated such ideas, that he has always appeared to my mind as a being that could hear, see, and talk; and it is because I do not believe in the existence of this hearing, seeing, and talking God that I call myself an Atheist. I am unable to conceive how a being can see without the organs of sight, hear without the organs of sound, or talk without the organs of speech. God is always represented as a being that can call us to account; but whenever I think of his calling me to account, I cannot avoid thinking of his talking, and then he always appears in my "mind's eye" as a mere man, and it is impossible for me to attach the idea of omnipotence to a being like myself.

I define an Atheist thus: he is one who does not believe in the existence of any being capable of thinking, but what is material. It is upon this definition that I call myself an Atheist; and I do not doubt but that Mr. Hume is acquainted with many such Atheists.

Yours, &c.

HUMPHREY BOYLE.

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